

Message Text

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FROM US REP MBFR

E O 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
SUBJ: MBFR: DRAFT AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON DATA

1. IN AD HOC GROUP MEETING JUNE 28, ITALIA,
NETHERLANDS, AND UK REPS RAISED WITH AD HOC GROUP THE
QUESTION OF HOW THE AHG SHOULD PROCEED IN THE NEXT
ROUND WITH THE DATA DISCUSSION. ENSUING DISCUSSION
SHOWED GENERAL RECOGNITION WITHIN THE AHG THAT THE
EASTERN JUNE 8 PROPOSALS HAVE CAUSED THE DATA DISCUSSION
TO ASSUME INCREASED IMPORTANCE, AND THAT THE CURRENT
LINES OF WESTERN PERSUIT OF THE DATA DISCUSSION ARE
NEARLY EXHAUSTED. THE CONSENSUS OF THE AHG WAS THAT
THE GROUP WILL REQUIRE NEW NAC GUIDANCE
REGARDING THE DATA DISCUSSION BY EARLY IN THE
NEXT ROUND.

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2. THE ITALIAN REP PROPOSED, AND THE AHG AGREED,
THAT THE AHG SEND A WRITTEN REPORT TO THE COUNCIL
BY THE END OF THE CURRENT ROUND DESCRIBING THE
PRESENT STATUS OF THE DATA DISCUSSION, SETTING
FORTH VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES AS NEXT STEPS IN THE
DISCUSSION, AND REQUESTING NEW NAC GUIDANCE. (IN

TRILATERAL DISCUSSION OF JUNE 30, UK REP AND ACTING
FRG REP HARTMANN CAME OUT STRONGLY FOR SUCH A REPORT.)
AHG REQUESTED THAT THE US DELEGATION PREPARE A
FIRST DRAFT OF SUCH A REPORT.

3. THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS DRAFT WHICH THE DELEGATION
HAS PREPARED IN RESPONSE. WE WOULD APPRECIATE
WASHINGTON COMMENTS ON THIS TEXT BEFORE WE SUBMIT IT
INITIALLY TO THE UK AND FRG DELEGATIONS AND THEN TO
THE AHG AS A WHOLE.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL TO
HAVE WASHINGTON COMMENTS BY COB THURSDAY, JULY 13, IN
ORDER TO PERMIT TRILATERAL DISCUSSION OF DRAFT AND
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPORT IN THE AHG.

5. BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT REPORT.

DRAFT AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON DATA

I. PRESENT STATUS OF THE DATA DISCUSSION

1. AS THE AD HOC GROUP POINTED OUT IN ITS REPORT OF APRIL 19,
THE EXCHANGE OF FURTHER DATA ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN
MARCH THIS YEAR SHOWED AN UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF THE
DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN DATA ON WARSAW PACT
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MILITARY MANPOWER WITH DISPROPORTIONATELY LARGE DISCREPANCIES
FOR SOVIET AND POLISH FORCES. EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF THE
DATA SINCE THEN HAS TO SOME EXTENT, FURTHER REFINED
OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DISCREPANCY
WITHIN THE FORCES OF THE INDIVIDUAL EASTERN PARTICIPANTS.
THIS DISCUSSION SHOWS A DISPROPORTIONATELY LARGE DISCREPANCY
IN SOVIET MAJOR FORMATIONS AND POLISH FORCES OTHER THAN IN
MAJOR FORMATIONS.

2. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ALSO CONTINUED THE
INQUIRY AS TO INCLUSIONS AND EXCLUSIONS IN EACH OF THE EASTERN
NATIONAL FORCES. EASTERN ANSWERS HAVE THUS FAR NOT REVEALED ANYTHING
NEW. IN SUM, BOTH THESE ASPECTS OF THE DATA DISCUSSION, THAT IS,
ALLOCATION BETWEEN THE TWO CATEGORIES, AND INCLUSIONS AND
EXCLUSIONS IN THE OVERALL MANPOWER OF INDIVIDUAL EASTERN
DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, HAVE FOR THE MOMENT BEEN CARRIED AS FAR AS
EASTERN READINESS TO RESPOND MEANINGFULLY TO WESTERN QUESTIONS
PERMITS. DURING THIS LATEST PHASE OF THE DATA INQUIRY FROM
MARCH TO THE PRESENT, THE EAST HAS MADE NO STATEMENT ACKNOWLEDGING
THAT ITS FIGURES ARE NOT COMPLETE. TO THE CONTRARY, IT CONTINUES
TO ASSERT THAT EASTERN FIGURES ARE COMPILED ON THE SAME BASIS AS
THE WESTERN FIGURES.

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3. THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSALS OF JUNE 8 INCREASE THE FOCUS ON EAST/WEST DIFFERENCES OVER DATA. THESE EASTERN PROPOSALS ARE DIRECTLY DEPENDENT ON AGREEMENT ON DATA IN SEVERAL RESPECTS, INCLUDING THE FACT THAT EACH SIDE WOULD HAVE TO REDUCE ITS GROUND FORCE MANPOWER BY THE AMOUNT BY WHICH THAT MANPOWER EXCEEDED THE LEVEL OF 700,000 MEN. FROM THE WESTERN STANDPOINT, THIS EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE COMMON CEILING PROVIDES A CONCEPTUAL BASIS FOR ASYMMETRICAL MILITARY MANPOWER REDUCTIONS, PROVIDED THAT THE EAST CAN EVENTUALLY BE BROUGHT TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE GROUND FORCE MANPOWER DISPARITY IN ITS FAVOR.

4. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE WEST MUST DECIDE HOW TO PROCEED WITH THE DATA ISSUE. THE PRESENT LINE OF QUESTIONING HAS ABOUT RUN ITS COURSE. AS ONE POSSIBILITY, THE WEST COULD ABANDON THE DATA DISCUSSION FOR NOW, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME MAKING IT CLEAR TO THE EAST THAT THIS RELINQUISHMENT IS TEMPORARY AND DOES NOT CONSTITUTE ACCEPTANCE OF THE EASTERN CON-
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TENTION THAT APPROXIMATE PARITY EXISTS AND RESERVING THE RIGHT TO REOPEN THE DATA DISCUSSION IN THE FUTURE. THIS APPROACH WOULD LEAVE IT UP TO THE EAST TO SUGGEST WAYS TO PROCEED OR TO MAKE CHANGES IN ITS DATA POSITION. HOWEVER, THE WEST WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO INFLUENCE THE FUTURE COURSE OF THE DATA DISCUSSION. FURTHER, THERE IS A RISK THAT, NO MATTER WHAT CAVEAT THE WEST ENTERS, THE EAST MAY CONSTRUE SUCH A WESTERN POSITION AS A MOVE TOWARD ACCEPTANCE OF ITS FIGURES. SUCH A WESTERN POSITION WOULD IN ADDITION BE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO WESTERN PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY OPINION.

5. FROM THE NEGOTIATING VIEWPOINT, IT WOULD SEEM FAR PREFERABLE TO MAINTAIN THE DATA INQUIRY AS A SOURCE OF PRESSURE ON THE EAST. THE EAST MAY CHOOSE NOT TO REVEAL THE FACTS WHEN IF WESTERN DATA QUESTIONS PROBE THE PRECISE AREAS WHICH DO ACCOUNT FOR THE DISCREPANCY. BUT CONTINUING THE DATA QUESTIONING PRESERVES THE AUTHORITY OF WESTERN DATA AND INCREASES THE INDUCEMENT FOR THE EAST TO INFORM THE WEST OF THE FACTS. WESTERN REQUESTS FOR FURTHER DISAGGREGATION OF EASTERN DATA CAN ALSO INCREASE THESE PRESSURES.

II. NEXT STEPS

6. THIS LATTER APPROACH WOULD ENTAIL MOVING INTO A MORE DETAILED EXAMINATION OF EASTERN FORCES, WITH EMPHASIS ON THOSE PORTIONS OF THE FORCES OF INDIVIDUAL EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WHICH SHOW THE GREATEST DISCREPANCY IN AN EFFORT BOTH TO APPLY MORE TELLING PRESSURE ON THE EAST AND TO FIND THE REASONS FOR THAT DISCREPANCY. THE WEST SHOULD ALSO DEVOTE MORE EMPHASIS TO DEMONSTRATING THE INTERNAL INCONSISTENCIES OF EASTERN DATA. IT SHOULD REQUEST THE EAST TO PRODUCE MORE DETAILED DATA WHICH WOULD BE OF USE BOTH IN THIS CONTEXT AND FOR PINPOINTING MORE PRECISELY JUST WHERE IN THE FORCES OF INDIVIDUAL WARSAW PACT PARTICIPANTS THE GREATEST SHORTFALL CAN BE FOUND, PLACING THE
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WEST IN A POSITION TO PRESS THE EAST STILL MORE EFFECTIVELY TO RECTIFY ITS FIGURES.

7. FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE COUNCIL MAY WISH TO CONSIDER GIVING THE AD HOC GROUP AUTHORITY IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

(1) TO PRESENT TO THE EAST, IN A WAY WHICH WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE TACTICALLY, SELECTED WESTERN DATA ON THE EASTERN FIGURE AND A TOTAL AIR FORCE MANPOWER FIGURE FOR EACH EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT; (B) THE WESTERN ESTIMATE ON TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONNEL IN ALL OF THE DIVISIONS OF EACH EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT; AND (C) A WESTERN ESTIMATE ON THE NUMBER OF CONSCRIPT PERSONNEL IN THE POLISH UNITS OF TERRITORIAL DEFENSE.

(2) TO ENTER ON DISCUSSION OF THE MANNING LEVEL QUESTION WITH THE EAST AND POSSIBILITY TO USE CERTAIN AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL FIGURES FOR WESTERN FORCES.

(3) TO INFORM THE EAST THAT THE WEST HAD REALLOCATED DATA BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR MANPOWER IN THE MANNER PROPOSED BY THE EAST. THE FOLLOWING MATERIAL DESCRIBES THESE THREE POSSIBILITIES IN MORE DETAIL.

III. WESTERN DATA ON EASTERN FORCES

8. THE EAST HAS CHALLENGED THE WEST TO PRODUCE ITS ESTIMATES OF WARSAW TREATY MANPOWER AND WILL DOUBTLESS PERSIST WITH THIS CHALLENGE, PERHAPS PUBLICLY, IF THE WEST DOES NOT TABLE SUCH FIGURES. SUCH A SITUATION COULD CREATE A NEGATIVE IMPRESSION ON WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION AS TO THE AUTHORITATIVENESS AND ACCURACY OF WESTERN DATA AND AS TO THE CONFIDENCE THE WEST HAS IN ITS FIGURES. QUITE APART FROM THIS EASTERN CHALLENGE, IT WOULD BE HIGHLY USEFUL FOR WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO HAVE THE WESTERN DATA DESCRIBED ABOVE AVAILABLE FOR USE AS A BASIS FOR MORE DETAILED QUESTIONING DESIGNED TO SHOW THE INCONSISTENCY AND IMPLAUSIBILITY OF EASTERN FIGURES. FOR
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EXAMPLE, USING THIS DATA, THE WEST COULD CHALLENGE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS TO DEMONSTRATE HOW THEIR TABLED FIGURES CAN PROVIDE ENOUGH PERSONNEL TO MAN ALL EASTERN UNITS IN THE CATEGORY OF MAJOR FORMATIONS.

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9. THIS APPROACH COULD SERVE AS A WAY OF ESTABLISHING A REASONABLE FRAMEWORK FOR WESTERN REQUESTS FOR THE EAST TO SUPPLY MORE DETAILED DATA, SUCH AS TOTAL MANPOWER IN DIVISIONS OF EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT SOME OF THE WESTERN DATA ON EASTERN DATA HAS ALREADY BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE WEST, THAT THE EAST ALREADY IS IN POSSESSION OF MOST OF THE WESTERN DATA ON EASTERN FORCES REQUESTED AND THAT NONE OF THE FIGURES IN QUESTION APPEAR SENSITIVE FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF PROTECTING WESTERN INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS.

IV. AVERAGE MANNING LEVELS

10. IF WESTERN NEGOTIATORS PRESS THE EAST TO MORE DETAILED EXAMINATION OF THEIR FIGURES, THE EAST PROBABLY WILL RESPOND BY PLACING INCREASED EMPHASIS ON EASTERN PROPOSALS TO EXCHANGE AVERAGE MANNING LEVELS (AML). WESTERN NEGOTIATIONS DO NOT EXPECT TO OBTAIN INFORMATION FROM AN EXCHANGE OF SUCH DATA

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WHICH WOULD ILLUMINATE THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY. BUT THE WEST SHOULD NOT BE IN A POSITION OF FAILING TO AGREE TO DISCUSS DATA WHICH THE EAST CLAIMS COULD CONTRIBUTE TO CLARIFYING THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY, OR OF FAILING TO EXAMINE PROFFERED EASTERN DATA.

11. ONE POSSIBLE WAY TO HANDLE THIS DIFFICULTY WOULD BE TO GIVE THE AHG AUTHORITY TO ENTER ACTIVELY INTO A DISCUSSION OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE AML. SPECIFICALLY, THE WEST WOULD INDICATE ITS WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER SUCH AN EXCHANGE, BUT POINT OUT THAT THE ABSENCE OF A DETAILED EXPLANATION BY THE EAST OF ITS METHODOLOGY FOR COMPUTING AML PREVENTS THE WEST FROM MAKING A FULL ASSESSMENT OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE WEST WOULD INVITE THE EAST TO PROVIDE A FULL DESCRIPTION OF ITS METHODOLOGY, INCLUDING SPECIFIC EXAMPLES, AND TO EXPLAIN HOW, IN THE EASTERN VIEW, THIS WOULD ENABLE THE TWO SIDES TO FIND THE SOURCES FOR THE DISCREPANCY. THIS APPROACH WOULD BE INTENDED TO DRAW THE EAST OUT ON THE DETAILS OF ITS PROPOSAL WITHOUT COMMITTING THE WEST IN ADVANCE TO ANY SPECIFIC RECIPROCAL COURSE OF ACTION. WITH THE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IN HAND, THE WEST COULD THEN MAKE A FURTHER

DECISION ON HOW TO PROCEED WITH AML, INCLUDING WHETHER TO COUPLE WESTERN WILLINGNESS TO EXCHANGE AML DATA WITH A DEMAND FOR DISAGGREGATION OF EASTERN AIR FORCE DATA. IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT THIS COURSE COULD WHILE IT IS IN TRAIN TAKE THE PRESSURE OFF THE EAST TO RECTIFY ITS ALREADY TABLED FIGURES AND COULD HINDER OR DELAY WESTERN EXPLOITATION OF THE MANNING LEVEL ISSUE AS A ROUTE TO FURTHER EASTERN DATA DISAGGREGATION.

12. A SECOND, MORE DIRECT WAY TO HANDLE THIS PROBLEM WOULD BE TO GIVE THE AD HOC GROUP AUTHORITY TO AGREE TO AN EXCHANGE OF OVERALL MANNING LEVEL DATA IN WHICH THE WEST COULD COMPILE ITS FIGURES BY A METHOD WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO IT, INCLUDING
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THE PROVISION OF A FIGURE SHOWING THE OVERALL AML OF THE DIVISIONS OF EACH WESTERN PARTICIPANT. EAST/WEST DISCUSSION OF THE BASIS OF COMPILING THE FIGURES WOULD BE POSTPONED UNTIL AFTER THE EXCHANGE ITSELF HAD ALREADY TAKEN PLACE. SUCH AN AUTHORIZATION, TOGETHER WITH THAT PROPOSED IN SECTION III ABOVE, WOULD GIVE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS THE FLEXIBILITY TO EITHER: (A) ATTEMPT TO EXCHANGE THE WESTERN FIGURE ON THE MANPOWER IN DIVISIONS OF INDIVIDUAL EASTERN PARTICIPANTS IN RETURN FOR THE EAST'S AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL FOR OVERALL PERSONNEL IN DIVISIONS OF INDIVIDUAL EASTERN PARTICIPANTS. DOING (THIS WOULD DEAL WITH THE AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL ISSUE WHILE OBTAINING THE EASTERN FIGURE FOR TOTAL MANPOWER IN DIVISIONS OF EACH PARTICIPANT); (B) ATTEMPT TO EXCHANGE THE WESTERN FIGURE FOR THE AML OF WESTERN PERSONNEL IN DIVISIONS OF EACH PARTICIPANT IN RETURN FOR THE ANALOGOUS FIGURE ON EASTERN PERSONNEL IN DIVISIONS; OR (C) TO EXCHANGE OVERALL NATIONAL AMLS WITH A VIEW TO DEMONSTRATING THE LACK OF UTILITY OF SUCH FIGURES AND THEN TO WORK TOWARDS EXCHANGE OF AML FIGURES ON PERSONNEL IN DIVISIONS. THE ATTACHED ANNEX A SHOWS ONE POSSIBLE METHOD OF COMPILING AMLS FOR THE WEST. (DELEGATION COMMENT: INCLUSION OF THE ANNEX IS OPTIONAL, BUT WOULD MAKE THIS COURSE MORE CLEAR TO NATO.)

V. REALLOCATION OF WESTERN DATA ON WARSAW PACT FORCES

13. THE ORIGINAL WESTERN ACTION IN ALLOCATING POLISH AND CZECHOSLIVAK GROUND BASED AIR DEFENSE PERSONNEL TO THE GROUND FORCES OF THESE TWO COUNTRIES WAS IN CONFORMITY WITH LONG-STANDING WESTERN INTELLIGENCE PRACTICE, BUT WAS NOT COMPATIBLE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF TREATING ALL NATIONS' FORCES IN THE SAME MANNER, OR WITH THE WEST'S OWN EFFORTS TO LOCATE THE ACTUAL SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY. SIMILAR ANOMALIES OCCURRED WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN HELICOPTER AND SSM PERSONNEL. FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE DATA DISCUSSION, THE WESTERN AND EASTERN ALLOCATION MUST BE THE SAME. THE WEST ALSO NEEDS TO REALLOCATE ITS DATA TO GIVE GREATER AUTHORITY TO THE WESTERN FIGURES AND

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TO PROVIDE SOME ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE EAST TO REVISE ITS OWN
FIGURES. MOREOVER, IF THE WEST IS TO PRESENT EVEN SELECTED
PORTIONS OF ITS OWN DATA ON EASTERN FORCES, THAT DATA WILL HAVE
TO BE MADE COMPARABLE WITH EASTERN FIGURES IN ORDER TO BE MOST
USEFUL AND TO APPEAR MOST AUTHORITATIVE.

14. CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS SUGGESTED THAT CONSIDERATION MIGHT BE
GIVEN TO INFORMING THE EAST THAT THE WEST IS PREPARED TO REALLOCATE
ITS FIGURES ON WARSAW TREATY PERSONNEL ON THE BASIS PROPOSED BY THE
EAST, I.E. ALLOCATION TO AIR FORCES OF POLISH AND CZECHOSLOVAK
GROUND BASED AIR DEFENSE MANPOWER, AND ALLOCATION TO GROUND
FORCES OF EASTERN AND WESTERN GROUND SUPPORT HELICOPTER
MANPOWER AND THE MANPOWER OF THE FRG PERSHING MISSILE BRIGADE.
THIS REALLOCATION WOULD BE SUBJECT OF COURSE TO FINAL GENERAL
AGREEMENT ON DATA.

15. IF THIS WERE TO BE AGREED BY THE COUNCIL, THE AD HOC GROUP MIGHT

ALSO BE AUTHORIZED TO USE REALLOCATED FIGURES IN PRESENTING WESTERN

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FIGURES ON WARSAW TREATY FORCES TO THE EAST AND TO INDICATE THE EFFECTS OF REALLOCATION ON WESTERN DATA ON NATO FORCES. THE GROUP WOULD EXPECT TO BARGAIN WITH THE EAST TO OBTAIN EASTERN DATA ON THOSE EASTERN FORCE COMPONENTS WHICH WOULD BE INVOLVED IN A REALLOCATION OF WESTERN DATA ON PACT FORCES. BUT WE DO NOT CONSIDER THAT THIS SHOULD BE MADE A CONDITION OF THE WEST'S WILLINGNESS TO REALLOCATE, BECAUSE DISAGREEMENT OVER THIS TOPIC MAY PREVENT A MORE TELLING USE OF REALLOCATED WESTERN DATA.

VI. OTHER APPROACHES

16. THERE ARE TWO FURTHER POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION OTHER THAN THOSE ALREADY DESCRIBED: (A) TO REVERT TO THE WEST'S JULY 15, 1977 PROPOSAL FOR THE EXCHANGE OF DATA ON EACH MAJOR FORMATION IN THE REDUCTION AREA; AND (B) TO SET ASIDE THE DISCUSSION OF DATA PER SE TO FOCUS INSTEAD ON DEFINITIONAL ASPECTS OF THE DATA ISSUE, THAT IS, ON THE QUESTION OF WHO SHOULD BE INCLUDED AND WHO EXCLUDED FROM DATA.

17. A FLAT RETURN TO THE WESTERN PROPOSALS OF JULY 15, 1977 WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE VERY POOR PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS. THE EAST ALREADY REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION LEADING UP TO THE EXCHANGE OF FURTHER DATA. RETURNING TO IT NOW IN THE ABSENCE OF A NEW RATIONALE FOR INDUCING THE EAST TO EXCHANGE SUCH DATA COULD BE A VIRTUAL GUARANTEE FOR STALEMATE.

18. THE CONCEPT OF SETTING ASIDE THE DISCUSSION OF DATA ITSELF FOR A MORE CLEARLY FOCUSED EXAMINATION OF DEFINITIONAL ISSUES APPEARS TO HOLD LITTLE PROMISE AT THIS TIME. AS NOTED ABOVE, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE BEEN PROBING DEFINITIONAL ISSUES FOR SOME TIME WITH THE EAST--SO FAR WITHOUT RESULT. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS RECENTLY INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO RE-

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OPEN THE DEFINITIONS DISCUSSION, BUT EASTERN NEGOTIATORS TURNED DOWN THIS OPENING. HENCE, THERE IS LITTLE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT AN EFFORT TO DEAL SOLELY WITH DEFINITIONS WOULD BE PRODUCTIVE. HOWEVER, JUDICIOUS PROBING OF DEFINITIONAL QUESTIONS, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE STEPS DESCRIBED ABOVE WHICH ARE DESIGNED TO PLACE GREATER PRESSURE ON THE CREDIBILITY OF EASTERN FIGURES, MAY HOLD SOME PROSPECT OF SUCCESS.

VII. NEED FOR FLEXIBILITY

19. IF THE COUNCIL SHOULD DECIDE TO AUTHORIZE THE USE WITH THE EAST OF THE DATA DESCRIBED, THE AD HOC GROUP WOULD LIKE TO BE GIVEN FLEXIBILITY IN ITS USE IN ORDER TO PERMIT THE MOST EFFECTIVE TACTICS FOR MAINTAINING PRESSURE ON THE EAST. IN PARTICULAR, IT APPEARS DESIRABLE IF POSSIBLE TO AVOID SITUATIONS WHERE AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE OF THE SAME DATA FOR EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT ON EACH SIDE IS AUTOMATICALLY CALLED FOR ON EACH OCCASION. SUCH A PROCEDURE CAN, AS IN THE CASE OF AVERAGE MANNING LEVELS, CAUSE INCONVENIENCE IN THE WEST. ON OTHER DATA ASPECTS, IT WOULD BE A BARRIER TO NEGOTIABILITY WITH THE EAST. MOREOVER, IT IS CONTRARY TO THE WEST'S INTEREST TO PRECIPITATE THE TABLING OF EASTERN FIGURES ON WESTERN FORCES, SINCE THE EAST IS LIKELY TO INFLATE SUCH FIGURES FOR NEGOTIATING PURPOSES. INSTEAD, WHERE POSSIBLE, IT WOULD APPEAR PREFERABLE TO FOCUS THE INQUIRY ON SPECIFIC AREAS OF EASTERN FORCES AND TO DO SO, WHEN FEASIBLE, BY TAKING THE INITIATIVE TO PRESENT THE WESTERN FIGURE ON THE FORCE CONCERNED AND CHALLENGING THE EAST TO COMMENT.

20. AS PART OF THIS SAME FLEXIBLE APPROACH, THE AD HOC GROUP WOULD EXPECT TO DRAW ON THE JULY 12, 1977 COUNCIL GUIDANCE TO PRESENT DATA ON WESTERN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER DOWN TO THE LEVEL OF DIVISIONS "IF AND TO THE EXTENT THAT THIS PROVES NECESSARY IN ORDER TO OBTAIN FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF THE EXISTING DATA DISCREPANCIES (CM(77)53)."

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ANNEX A

POSSIBLE WESTERN APPROACH TO PRESENTATION OF DATA ON
WESTERN MANNING LEVELS

SUGGESTED DEFINITION

1. A DEFINITION WHICH COULD BE USED TO COMPUTE MANNING
LEVELS OF INDIVIDUAL WESTERN FORCES MIGHT BE:

A. "THE MANNING LEVEL IS DETERMINED BY DIVIDING
ACTUAL MANPOWER STRENGTH AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 BY THE OVERALL
TABLE OF ORGANIZATION STRENGTH OF ALL THE FORMATIONS, UNITS
AND SUBUNITS, WHICH EXISTED IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS ON THE
SAME DATE."

B. BY THE TERM QUOTE TABLE OF ORGANIZATION UNQUOTE
WE MEAN THE LIST THAT SHOWS, FOR EACH UNIT, THE POSITIONS WHICH
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SHOULD BE FILLED BY MILITARY PERSONNEL WHEN THAT UNIT IS AT
FULL WARTIME STRENGTH.

C. BY QUOTE OVERALL TABLE OF ORGANIZATION STRENGTH UNQUOTE,
WE MEAN THE SUM TOTAL OF ALL POSITIONS LISTED IN ALL
UNITS THAT COMPRISE THE FORCES AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976.

2. WHEN WE REFER TO UNITS, SUBUNITS AND FORMATIONS
QUOTE EXISTING AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 UNQUOTE, WE MEAN ALL
UNITS WHICH ARE MANNED IN PEACETIME. WE WOULD EXCLUDE FROM
COVERAGE UNDER THIS FORMULA THOSE UNITS OF COUNTRIES LOCATED
IN THE AREA WHICH COME INTO EXISTENCE ONLY UNDER WARTIME
MOBILIZATION, AND WHICH IN PEACETIME EITHER HAVE NO MANPOWER
OR ONLY A FEW CARETAKER PERSONNEL.

5. EXCLUDING FROM THE COMPUTATION OF TOTAL TABLE OF
ORGANIZATION POSITIONS THE POSITIONS IN THOSE UNITS WHICH
IN PEACETIME HAVE NO MANPOWER OR ONLY CARETAKER PERSONNEL
WOULD PREVENT WESTERN MANNING LEVEL PERCENTAGES FROM BEING
USED AS A MEANS FOR CALCULATING TOTAL NATIONAL WARTIME
ESTABLISHMENT STRENGTHS. IT WOULD ALSO PROVIDE A REASONABLE
FRAMEWORK FOR SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST BECAUSE
NATO FIGURES FOR EASTERN MANPOWER COUNT PERSONNEL ONLY IN
UNITS WHICH EXIST IN PEACETIME AND HAVE DEMONSTRABLE CADRE
MANNING.

6. UNDER THIS APPROACH, EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT

WOULD TABLE TWO PERCENTAGE FIGURES FOR ITS MANNILG LEVELS.

A. THE FIRST FIGURE WOULD SHOW TOTAL ACTUAL MANPOWER IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE OVERALL TABLE OF ORGANIZATION STRENGTH OF THE MAJOR FORMATIONS OF THAT COUNTRY.

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B. THE SECOND FIGURE WOULD SHOW TOTAL ACTUAL MANPOWER IN THE SECOND CATEGORY--THAT IS, UNITS AND FORMATIONS NOT PART OF MAJOR FORMATIONS--AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF POSITIONS IN THOSE UNITS AND FORMATIONS.

2. MAJOR FORMATIONS MANNING PERCENTAGES

7. FOR THE WEST, MAJOR FORMATIONS MEANS CORPS, AND THUS MAJOR FORMATION MANNING LEVELS WOULD SIMPLY BE THE MANNING LEVELS OF CORPS.

8. WITH MINOR EXCEPTIONS TREATED BELOW, NATO CORPS ARE COMPOSED ALMOST ENTIRELY OF UNITS WHOSE STRENGTH IS SPECIFIED IN TABLES OF ORGANIZATION.

9. THE OVERALL TABLE OF ORGANIZATION STRENGTH OF MAJOR FORMATIONS OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT WOULD BE THE SUM TOTAL OF ALL POSITIONS LISTED ON THE TABLES OF ORGANIZATION OF ALL THE UNITS THAT MAKE UP THE CORPS OF THAT PARTICIPANT.

10. THE FIGURE FOR THE TOTAL TABLE OF ORGANIZATION POSITIONS IN THE CORPS OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT, COULD THEN BE DIVIDED INTO THE FIGURE WHICH THAT PARTICIPANT HAS ALREADY TABLED FOR TOTAL MANPOWER IN CORPS TO PRUDUCE A MAJOR FORMATION MANNING PERCENTAGE.

11. THERE ARE OF COURSE INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS TO BE DEALT WITH ARISING FROM THE DIFFERENT WAYS THAT EACH OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS STRUCTURES ITS FORCES.

PROBLEMS ENTAILED IN THIS APPROACH

12. A MORE GENERAL PROBLEM ARISES FROM THE FACT THAT SOME OF THE UNITS IN THE AREA, INCLUDING MINISTRIES OF DEFENSE, NATIONAL MILITARY SCHOLLS, SOME HEADQUARTERS, AND SOME SERVICE UNITS, ARE NOT OF THE TYPE WHOSE STRENGTH IS DETERMINED BY A

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SPECIFIC TABLE OF ORGANIZATION. INSTEAD, UNITS OF THIS KIND ARE NORMALLY KEPT AT A FULL STRENGTH WHICH IS ESTABLISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS CURRENT PEACETIME FORMATION. WE WILL CALL THESE ORGANIZATIONS "NON-TO" UNITS.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3056
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USNATO
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13. "NON-TO" UNITS SUCH AS HEADQUARTERS COMPONENTS FORM A RELATIVELY SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE OVERALL MANPOWER STRENGTHS OF WESTERN CORPS. THUS, EVEN IF THESE NON-TO UNITS ARE COUNTED AS BEING MANNED AT 100 PERCENT, AND ARE COUNTED INTO THE COMPUTATION OF CORPS MANNING LEVELS ACCORDING TO THE FORMULA DESCRIBED ABOVE, THE EFFECT ON THE OVERALL MANNING LEVEL PERCENTAGE WOULD BE NEGLIGIBLE. FOR EXAMPLE, EVEN IF PERSONNEL IN SUCH "100 PERCENT" UNITS CONSTITUTED 10 PERCENT OF THE OVERALL PEACETIME STRENGTH OF THE CORPS IN A GIVEN CASE, THE EFFECT OF INCLUDING THESE PERSONNEL IN THE COMPUTATION OF THE PERCENTAGE MANNING LEVELS OF THE CORPS AS A WHOLE WOULD BE TO RAISE THAT OVERALL MANNING LEVEL FIGURE ONLY BY ABOUT ONE PERCENT.

14. THIS CAN BE DEMONSTRATED BY THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLE:

T/O UNITS	NON-T/O UNITS	TOTAL CORPS
TOTAL PERSONNEL	45,000	5,000
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TOTAL POSITIONS	55,000	6,000	60,000
MANNING PERCENT	81.8	100 PCT	83.3
(ROUNDED	(82 PCT)		(83)

15. WE HAVE SUGGESTED EXCLUDING FROM THE COMPUTATION OF THE SUM TOTAL OF TABLE OF ORGANIZATION POSITIONS THOSE POSITIONS IN UNITS WHICH IN PEACETIME HAVE NO MANNING OR ONLY CARETAKER MANNING. THESE "EMPTY" UNITS INCLUDE THOSE UNITS INTENDED TO SERVE AS POOLS FROM WHICH PERSONNEL CAN BE DRAWN ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS AS REPLACEMENTS FOR INITIAL COMBAT LOSSES. IN THE FRG FORCES, THESE "REPLACEMENT POOL UNITS" ARE ORGANIC TO THE PLANNED WARTIME STRUCTURE OF INDIVIDUAL DIVISIONS. THE FORMULA WE PROPOSE FOR COMPUTING MANNING LEVEL PERCENTAGES WOULD DELETE ALL SUCH POSITIONS FROM THE OVERALL TOTAL OF TABLE OF ORGANIZATION POSITIONS.

MANNING LEVEL PERCENTAGE FOR THE SECOND CATEGORY

16. UNITS IN THE SECOND CATEGORY WHICH AVE TABLE OF ORGANIZATION WOULD BE ADDED TOGETHER IN THE SAME WAY AS FOR THOSE IN MAJOR FORMATIONS IN ORDER TO COMPUTE THEIR MANNING LEVEL. HOWEVER, IN CONTRAST TO NATO CORPS, A LARGE PROPORTION OF WESTERN PERSONNEL OF THOSE COUNTRIES LOCATED IN THE AREA WHO HAVE BEEN COUNTED IN THE WESTERN FIGURES FOR THE SECOND CATEGORY ARE PERSONNEL OF NON-TO UNITS. THIS SECOND CATEGORY OF OTHERS ALSO INCLUDES TO UNITS. IN ORDER TO COMPUTE A MANNING LEVEL PERCENTAGE FOR PERSONNEL IN THIS SECOND CATEGORY OF EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT, THE MANNING LEVEL PERCENTAGE OF TO UNITS WOULD BE COMBINED WITH THE PERCENTAGE FOR THE NON-TO UNITS IN A WEIGHTED AVERAGE.

PROBLEM OF TERRITORIAL FORCES

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17 UNITS OF TERRITORIAL FORCES ARE IN THE SECOND CATEGORY. IN ONE OR MORE NATO COUNTRIES, CERTAIN TERRITORIAL UNITS HAVE ONLY A SMALL CARETAKER STAFF WHICH AMOUNTS TO ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF THE TOTAL STRENGTH OF THESE UNITS IN WARTIME. IN THE FRG, THE SUM TOTAL OF THESE PERSONNEL AMOUNTS TO A SIZEABLE NUMBER OF MEN -- PERHAPS 15-20,000. IT WOULD BE METHODOLOGICALLY WRONG TO SIMPLY DELETE THESE MEN ENTIRELY FROM THE COMPUTATIONS OF MANNING LEVEL PERCENTAGES. ON THE OTHER HAND, TO COUNT THE POSITIONS IN THE UNITS THAT WOULD BE FORMED IN WARTIME WOULD DISCLOSE NATIONAL WARTIME

ESTABLISHMENT STRENGTHS. CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS SUGGESTED THAT
SUCH PERSONNEL BE TREATED AS BELONGING TO NON-TO COMPONENTS.

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ILLUSTRATIVE APPLICATION OF FORMULA (FIGURES APPROXIMATE)

BREAKDOWN OF FRG GROUND FORCE MANPOWER

	FACES	SPACES	PERCENT
MAJOR FORMATIONS (CORPS UNITS)	258,000	321,000	81
DIVISIONS (TO UNITS)	211,000	233,000	91
OTHER CORPS UNITS (TO UNITS AND NON-TO UNITS)	47,000	85,000	56
OTHER	80,000	86,000	93
TO UNITS	17,000	23,000	74
NON-TO UNITS	63,000	(63,000)	100

E.G. MOBILIZATION ELEMENTS
MOD

OVERALL TOTALS 338,000

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ANNEX B

ILLUSTRATIVE GUIDANCE

1. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS ARE AUTHORIZED TO PRESENT TO THE EAST DATA ITEMS FROM THE TABLE APPEARING IN PARAGRAPH 3 BELOW, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF CLARIFYING EXISTING DISCREPANCIES IN THE DATA ALREADY TABLED AND OF PLACING PRESSURE ON THE EAST TO PROVIDE MORE ACCURATE FIGURES. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD SEEK IN THEIR TACTICS TO USE THESE DATA ITEMS IN THE WAY WHICH IN THEIR JUDGEMENT WILL BEST CONTRIBUTE TO THESE OBJECTIVES. THE TIMING OF PRESENTATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL DATA ITEMS, AS WELL AS THE NATURE OF THE DATA WHICH THE EAST WOULD BE EXPECTED TO TABLE IN RETURN, ARE LEFT TO THE JUDGEMENT OF THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS.

2. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS ARE ALSO AUTHORIZED TO INFORM THE EAST THAT THE WEST IS PREPARED TO REALLOCATE ITS FIGURES BETWEEN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER ON THE BASIS PROPOSED BY THE EAST, I.E., ALLOCATION TO AIR FORCES OF POLISH AND CZECHOSLOVAK GROUND BASED AIR DEFENSE MANPOWER, AND ALLOCATION TO GROUND FORCES OF EASTERN GROUND SUPPORT HELICOPTER MANPOWER AND THE MANPOWER OF THE FRG PERSHING MISSILE BRIGADE. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT THIS REALLOCATION WOULD BE CONFINED TO THE CATEGORIES MENTIONED ABOVE AND WOULD OF COURSE BE SUBJECT TO FINAL, GENERAL AGREEMENT ON DATA. THE EAST MAY BE INFORMED, IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSING DATA ITEMS PRESENTED FROM THE TABLE BELOW, THAT FOR THE SAKE OF COMPARABILITY THESE FIGURES ARE BASED ON THE ALLOCATION PROPOSED BY THE EAST.

3. TABLE OF DATA ITEMS

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A) WESTERN ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND TOTAL AIR FORCE MANPOWER FOR EACH EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT.

B) WESTERN ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONNEL IN DIVISIONS OF EACH EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT.

C) A WESTERN ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF CONSCRIPT PERSONNEL IN THE POLISH UNITS OF TERRITORIAL DEFENSE.

D) AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS FOR EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT (SEE ANNEX A).

E) AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL IN "SECOND CATEGORY" FOR EACH
WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT (SEE ANNEX A).

F) AVERAGE MANNING FOR TOTAL PERSONNEL IN DIVISIONS
FOR EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT (SEE ANNEX A).

END TEXT OF DRAFT REPORT. DEAN

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